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14 August 1979

West Europe Report

(FOUO 45/79)

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COUNTRY SECTION

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COUNTRY SECTION FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

RENEWED YOUNG SOCIALIST OPPOSITION TO SCHMIDT NOTED

Hamburg CAPITAL in German Jul 79 pp 85-86

/Unattributed article: "Redeemers Wanted"/

/Text/ The Young Socialists held their peace for more than a year. Now they are taking the SPD mother party to task. Their principal demands: a ban on nuclear energy, rigorous nationalizations, renunciation of arms and -- repeatedly -- a campaign against the "job restrictions." The chancellor remains silent, however.

Egon Bahr, executive director of the SPD, looked on quietly while the Juso's /Young Socialists/ passed their resolutions at their last federal convention in Aschaffenburg early in April. Included was this one on nuclear energy: "They (the Young Socialists) continue to reject the construction of nuclear power plants and demand the immediate shutdown of all such power plants in the Federal Republic and elsewhere. The Juso's oppose the construction of a reprocessing plant and the permanent storage of nuclear waste in salt domes."

As regards the latter demand, the Working Association of Young Socialists in the SPD (so goes the official title of the junior organization) has found an ally of late in Lower Saxony's CDU Minister-President Ernst Albrecht, who for political reasons considers a reprocessing plant an impossibility for the time being.

The Juso's and Albrecht do indeed differ when it comes to their motives. For Lower Saxony's Union aspirant to the chancellorship rejected the plans for a reprocessing plant simply because SPD Chancellor Schmidt did not prevent strong forces within the SPD -- the Juso's, of course, but also North German princes such as Karl Ravens (Lower Saxony) and Guenther Jansen (Schleswig-Holstein) -- from torpedoing the common nuclear energy policy of the federal government and the Land government in Hannover.

Schmidt -- nicknamed "Groemaz" (Groesster Macher aller Zeiten -- biggest wheeler-dealer of all time) by the Union -- is at present providing anything

but a picture of strength. In the affair of the FRG presidency he failed to take the initiative in finding well ahead of time a candidate acceptable to the FDP as well, one who would not have hesitated to do the Union out of a few votes -- as did Carl Friedrich von Weizsaecker, the candidate produced at the last minute in order to save face. In the Gorleben nuclear power affair he let himself be outmaneuvered by Albrecht, whom he arrogantly underestimated. He has no dealings with the leftist opponents of the system in his own camp. The main thing is that he be left to govern in peace.

To be sure, considering the desolate state of the party leadership, he can be forgiven for feeling little inclination to intervene. Party chief Brandt is only semi-available for duty; his deputy, Kcschnick, has resigned; a successor is not yet to be found anywhere; and Executive Director Egon Bahr is also leaving. The chancellor would have had to tame the shrew all by himself.

The left wing, submerged for a time, granted Schmidt more than a year of this peace and quiet in which to govern. Now it is rallying -- and with no regard for important elections such as the one in North Rhine-Westphalia next spring and the Bundestag election the following autumn.

The fractious leftists argue that the party has kept still long enough for the sake of its chancellor and the constraints of his coalition. Now it should put a checkrein on him -- by means of rigid party resolutions this December in Berlin.

The chancellor is supposed finally to be bound to goals which once again clearly show the SPD to be a socialist party instead of a handmaiden in the service of the bourgeoisie. The Juso's are presenting themselves as the sole rallying point against Schmidt, the popular pragmatist who always places the practical matter above the idea. Even split into three wings, they agree on the following issues (as Juso chief Schroeder wrote in a letter to four trusted comrades):

The Juso's ought to revitalize the "Frankfurt Circle," the already semi-extinct debating society of left-wing Social Democrats, including those above the Juso age limit of 35;

The December party convention in Berlin must revoke the nuclear energy compromise struck in 1977 in Hamburg and pass a resolution banning nuclear reactors;

Schmidt must deal anew with the "job restrictions";

Defense policy ought to be pledged to a ban on the stationing of medium-range missiles, in line with Wehner's view.

Making the first new assault against Schmidt early in May in Bonn was Juso Deputy Chairman Reinhard Schultz, who is known to belong to the Stamokap

wing of extreme leftists. Schultz termed the chancellor's advocacy of nuclear energy "irresponsible, blind and dangerous." He said that the Juso's would now set out to prevent "the SPD from going down in history as the party which, with nuclear chancellor Schmidt, guaranteed future generations a life in civil defense shelters."

The Juso's had thus been heard from for the first time since the excommunication of their short-term chairman, Klaus-Uwe Benneter, who had pointed out that membership in the SPD was not dogma for Young Socialists and who had thereupon been expelled from the SPD. Following the Benneter furor, things had grown quiet under the new chairman, Hannover lawyer Gerhard Schroeder, elected in early 1978. Schroeder said in a SPIEGEL interview: "I wanted to be relatively quiet because, considering what was left of the substance of the Young Socialists, there was no sense in acting as though we were still the organization that had existed from 1969 to 1974."

The association's self-image had changed as a result of ideological struggles among wings of the organization, but also as a result of resolute intervention by the mother party. The Juso's had apparently been silenced by the so-called consultation guidelines passed by the party's executive board in Bonn in 1975. According to these guidelines, the individual suborganizations of the party were permitted to issue public statements only after consulting with the executive board. Schroeder's promise prior to his election to the position of Juso chairman was to get rid of this "muzzle order."

In fact, the party executive board did indeed arrange not long ago to have its executive director "no longer employ" the guidelines. Thereupon, at the end of May of this year, Juso's declared the order to have been "revoked" by Egon Bahr; they saw in this action "clear evidence of greater readiness for discussion" by the party leadership.

Actually, the Juso's were only collecting their fee for keeping quiet temporarily. In any event, there is virtually no chance that the party leaders intend to open a serious discussion of, let us say, those program resolutions and petitions which the Juso's passed or brought up at their last annual conference.

Chief among these, in addition to the ban on the use of nuclear energy, is the demand for the socialization or nationalization of about 40 corporations, including VW, Daimler-Benz, Siemens, BASF /Baden Aniline and Soda Factory/, Hoechst, Thyssen, Krupp, Flick, Mannesmann and Quandt -- but also corporations such as RWE /Rhine-Westphalian Electricity Works, Inc/, Gelsenberg, Ruhrkohle and Salzgitter, which are already controlled by the state. The Juso's are demanding that "banks and insurance companies be turned into public holdings" -- the entire energy sector as well, of course. Moreover, "all shipbuilding in northern Germany, including subcontractor plants," ought to be socialized, right along with "the entire German commercial fleet."

These extreme demands are contained in a petition entitled "Strategic Goals of a Democratically Controlled Economy in the FRG," which the Berlin Stamokap group had submitted and which presently constitutes the basis for the ideological dispute among the Juso's. The Stamokap wing has thus called for a new debate on the program of the organization, which, under the aegis of the rather more pragmatic Schroeder, had hitherto been occupied chiefly with maintaining a balance among its three groups.

At present, the Marxist Stamokaps and antirevisionists are in the majority on the seven-member Juso Executive Board, with each group having two deputy chairmen; in the minority are three representatives of the reform wing, which had dominated at an earlier point under "Red Heidi" Wieczorek-Zeul. Moreover, the Stamokap wing has recently attracted large numbers of supporters, thus enabling it to increase its delegate count for federal congresses by about 20 seats. If Schroeder has to give up his office next year because of the 35-year age limit, the Stamokaps and their controlled economy concept that is the focus of debate might be able to assert their claim to the chairmanship of the federal party.

If this were to happen, the presently relaxed relationship between the Juso's and the mother party would probably come to an end once again. After all, it is questionable as to how long Schmidt can continue to ignore the young people's organization when in the area of defense policy, for instance, it sneers at "the fairy tale of the danger from the East," while reflecting seriously on "the need of countries in Eastern Europe for security." Unlike the Young Democrats, who represent an organization completely separate from the FDP, the Juso's are part of the SPD. The SPD Executive Board -- particularly an SPD chancellor -- cannot afford in dealing with the Juso's the luxury of the attitude of the liberals, which is that of giving free rein to their Judo's as a wild band of loudmouths who are no longer to be taken seriously.

For these are not trifles that are being thought about and postulated. One of the deputy chairmen, Dr Wolfgang Krumbein, spiritual mentor of the Goettingen circle of antirevisionists, has appeared in print with statements that are striking for a distinguished functionary of an SPD working organization. For instance, Krumbein looks down on the "illusion of the democratic social state" and the "reformism" of the SPD, nor does he think much of parliamentarianism as practiced: "Parliament (can)not be an instrument for the seizure of political power by virtue of its incorporation into the middle-class legal and constitutional system and its close ties to capitalist interests, ties that derive from the national budget."

On the other hand, one must concede to the Juso's that Helmut Schmidt's activism has to a great extent left the party with nothing to say. The voices of the heirs of Marx and Engels naturally sound the loudest in a period of frustration such as this.

The mood of many Juso's can be determined from a report presented in mid-May by the Young Socialists of the Lower Rhine SPD district. "Apart from a few blind wheeler-dealers, all active party members are totally resigned and apathetic," says the report. A "feeling of the party's powerlessness" is a consequence of the fact that compulsions involving practical matters and the coalition have been used to put pressures of "bribery, duress and extortion on the resolutions of party bodies."

"The Working Association of Young Socialists is in danger of withering away," complain the Lower Rhine Juso's. "In many places it now consists only of the functionaries." They say that basic groups have folded, the organization is becoming increasingly short on theory and the membership is being drawn more and more from salaried employees and civil servants instead of secondary and university students.

To be sure, this fits the image of the German revolutionary: Before the system can be changed, satisfactory arrangements have to be made regarding pension rights.

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COUNTRY SECTION FRANCE

AIGRAN INTERVIEWED ON FUTURE OF FRENCH RESEARCH

Paris LA RECHERCHE in French May 79 pp 556-560

[Interview with Pierre Aigran, French secretary of state for Research; interviewer, place, and date not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, as Secretary of State for a year now, as a man of science, and as research administrator, do you feel comfortable in a political job? In what way is the way you do your job different from the way you ran it when you were managing director for research? Doesn't the fact that you didn't start your career as a politician hamper you somewhat in your relations with the budget minister and the prime minister?

[Answer] To the last part of your question, my answer is a flat "no." I hold a position which is clearly a political one: governmental responsibility is always political. My field, though, is essentially a technical one. Reporting directly to the prime minister, I have of ficially privileged relations with him, and mine is an interministerial liaison position. For all these reasons, the lack of prior political experience does not seem to me to be a handicap. The other side of the coin is that right now I have the opportunity to engage in action on a broader scale than was possible when I was managing director for research. I have a direct hand in the making of government decisions, on interministerial commissions, on select boards and, when needed, in the cabinet. This participation helps me and spurs me to think about research policy as a function of governmental policy as a whole, and particularly of economic policy, of which it is one dimension.

[Question] You still have many personal ties with research people in the public and private sectors. Doesn't this make you particularly sensitive to the feeling of disappointment and uncertainty that pervade those laboratories? Don't you get the impression that French research people have lost faith in their future? What do you perceive as the reasons for this persistent gloom?

[Answer] You do indeed see signs of gloom here and there. As I see it, there are two main reasons for it. The first is the untoward money situation. After 10 years of very swift growth -- somtimes better than 15 percent per year! -- the steady rise in availability of public funds for research has given way to a period of stabilization. There was a time, particularly after 1968, when the state budget for research actually declined a bit. Nowehere else in the world will you find a country with so high a growth rate for research. Because it was so sudden, the flattening of that upward curve unquestionably poses problems. The interpretation put upon it as a loss of government interest in R and D is, however, totally groundless. Even so, it has given rise to some dismay in the scientific community. And that, in turn, has aggravated some anti-science sentiment in France.

The feeling of having been abandoned and misunderstood which, for that matter, seems to be dissipating of late, is generally unjustified. It is unjustified first because corporate research activity, miraculously, has not wavered in its steady climb: the economic situation might well have had just the opposite effect, as indeed it has in Germany. It is unjustified, secondly, because the 1979 budget is a new-start budget. And finally, it is unjustified because the public at large is increasingly aware of how essential R and D is to the nation's economic survival and to the quality of life here. The extremist and shallow anti-science movement is itself on the way out. Research people thus have every reason to regain confidence. The recovery of interest in research will be all the swifter if the research community itself demonstrates and publicizes the worth of its efforts.

Consultation Not To Be Confused With Concertation

[Question] You and the minister for universities have just announced a reform in the National Scientific Research Commission (CNRS). It doesn't seem to be making much headway. Is this because of a difference between you and the minister for universities? Just how will this reform assure a brighter future for French research?

[Answer] I have to quarrel with the minister for universities, but drafting the texts for reform of a body like the CNRS is not a simple job -- no point in denying that. The aim the government has had in mind since the outset is not to change the agency to the point where it would be unrecognizable, but really to improve the way it operates so as to enable it to play its destined role to the hilt. Such improvements are to be sought in three directions. Day-to-day management, first of all, which must be decentralized so as to make it more efficient. Setting up scientific decision-making echelons between the top CNRS management and the field laboratories is a second thrust. Having the whole

navigation system for some 250,000 people centralized in one spot is patently impossible. The role of the scientific directors and of the advisory councils that assist them must be strengthened. Then there is a third point on which effort must be concentrated: the general management of CNRS must itself be backed up by a real advisory council playing quite a different role from that of a mere rubber-stamp body like the present board of directors. Obviously, to make reforms like these you have to move very carefully. It is better to take our time now than to waste our time later on trying to make a poorly thought-out reform work.

[Question] A great many research people are complaining of the secrecy which surrounds management and the ministries and of the lack of concerted action on major decisions (CNRS reform, INRA audit). They have voiced their complaints through their unions and through their learned societies. Don't you think that, in planning the future of French research, there are going to have to be some changes made in the present procedures for concerted action? Are you planning to reform some of the consulting bodies, such as the Advisory Committee on Scientific and Technical Research (CCRST), for example?

[Answer] We don't have to reform the CCRST: we've already done it. The membership in that body was expanded several years ago. Its members were replaced shortly before I came onto the scene. I have had a chance to judge the quality of the committee's work. Why change what's satisfactory?

You raised the issue of concerted action. We have to avoid confusion here between two procedures of equally vital importance: calling in expert advice, and concerted action. The decision-makers rely on work done by experts at their request. You mentioned CCRST opinions and those of other agencies. There are a lot more, such as the decisions of the concerted action committees of the Central Directorate for Scientific and Technical Research (DGRST). These findings, which are in no way binding on those to whom they are sent, must not be revealed as a general rule, for if they were, the experts would no longer have the indispensable freedom of opinion. Then on the other hand we have the sort of concertation for some of which there are formal proceedings such as the section meeting of the CNRS national committee, and for others of which there informal proceedings -- meetings of agency directors with their unions, for example. Is the return to concertation inadequate? I would point out that those who say so are usually confusing concertation with advice.

Steering from Downstream

[Question] You have advocated "stronger steering from downstream for research activities." These remarks evoked strong reservations from some of the people involved, particularly those in

agencies engaged primarily in basic research. How, in future, should the purpose and content of research programs be defined? At what point, in what way, will the research people and the users of research, of whom we talk so much without knowing just who they are, be involved in the decision-making processes?

[Answer] Vox populi, vox dei. I was certainly wrong to use the expression "downstream steering," since nobody understood what I meant by it. Permit me, though, to stick with my initial thinking, which I can sum up this way:

I am not pushing for getting industrial research done in basic research laboratories. There are two reasons for this. First, people must stick to what they do best. To be effective, applied research must be conducted in intimate and daily contact with a great many activities that are foreign to the public sector and, even more so, with public research: production, marketing, etc. Second, if basic research labs were to turn to applied research, they would no longer be doing basic research: who would do it?

There are two sorts of relationships which seem to me to be insufficiently developed in France. By all indications the downstream sector, particularly the production sector, does not yet have the scientific and technical information to which basic research provides access. The field of this data, I would emphasize, is not confined to the research findings obtained in France. It embraces the whole body of research findings worldwide because, I am profoundly convinced, basic research is one method, maybe the only sound method for gaining informed access to the whole body of knowledge accumulated by research throughout the world. We still have to make sure, however, that such access not be confined to those who are research specialists. Consequently, we must also make sure that the specialists play their full role as conduits of newly-acquired knowledge nourishing the other areas of activity.

While the upstream sector must indeed nourish the downstream one, it is equally necessary for the downstream sector to prod and stimulate its upstream opposite number. In the past, it was a common occurrence for problems arising in industry to stimulate or actually inspire basic research. For one example, I would remind you of semiconductors. To single out the major unresolved problems in the downstream sector that require basic research for their solution, and then buckling down to solve them: that is a vital move for the very progress of science. I would point out in passing that this has already been the target for concerted action which on occasion has brought basic research people and industrial corporations into close collaboration. But we have to do better. This is why we are working on new procedures that will combine public and private financing.

No Legislative Plan for Research

[Question] As one reads the 7th Plan documents dealing with research, one is struck by the financial fuzziness that pervades them. The 7th Plan seems to have been less operational than its predecessor. Agency directors, laboratory directors, and team leaders, subject to the random factors in the budget, whose connection with the Plan seems to be neither evident nor close and whose guidelines change from one year to the next, cannot make plans for the medium or long term. You yourself, as managing director, told a RECHERCHE interviewer in 1972 that the research community needed stability, and you called for some sort of a legislative plan, something like the one the defense minister has got since then. What steps are you taking now that you are in the government to get that idea put into effect?

[Answer] The economic situation has changed since 1972. The international context is more fluid. Forecasting is growing more difficult.

But before we talk about the future, just a word about the 7th Plan. Is its vagueness really open to criticism? Isn't that very vagueness rather to be found in the area of excessive specificity in priority action programs which blocked the necessary flexibility once the actual situation no longer allowed for the hypotheses upon which these programs were based to apply -- I am thinking specifically of the scenarios calling for overall growth in the budget and in government spending on capital goods.

The Plan must be, first and foremost, a strategy for responding to random factors. The most suitable form for it to take in the period we are going through now is certainly not that of a legislative plan cast in concrete which might very well set its financial sights either too high or too low. In either case, it is not good for research. What we need is flexible planning that spells out the appropriations and protects research and development activities, come what may.

[Question] One of the key problems facing French research is that of jobs. You pointed out, on 13 December 1978, that the government's goal was a 3-percent increase in government-agency jobs for research people. However, that growth target excludes university research people who also teach, the staff of the AEC, the research staffs at the professional technical centers, and those at the National Telecommunications Study Center (CNET), who constitute a large proportion, perhaps the largest, of research workers in the sector financed with government funds. Furthermore, owing to the lack of job openings, the 7-percent mobility that had been set as a target has not been reached. Don't you think that the scientific jobs policy needs revision, so as to take into account all of French research and its economic and social realities?

[Answer] The professional technical centers, I would remind you, are not state agencies. As for the CNET, it draws its funds from the Post Office and Telecommunications budget, which is not the state budget. The 3-percent rule was set for salaries of research people shown on the state budget. It has been applied to those salaries. Its purpose? During a period in which external mobility is low, to assure a minimum of replacement in cadres for the research agencies. Take note, though, that this is merely a palliative. The 3-percent growth rate is inadequate, of itself, to insure replacement of cadres, and excessive with respect to the financial means and equipment that may be made available to research workers.

Over a long period, other approaches for maintaining balance in scientific jobs must be sought. The external mobility rate of our major research agencies is currently on the order of 2 percent: retirement, 0.5 percent; death, 0.5 percent; mobility towards the universities, 0.5 percent, and other patterns of mobility, 0.5 percent. No agency, no business can operate at so low a turnover rate. The 7-percent target set in 1975, and which we still have a long way to go to meet, is a minimal goal towards which we must move steadily. Several approaches must be combined to achieve this. We must remove some of the administrative barriers to mobility, such, for example, of retirement incompatibility. We must give research people who go outside the agencies real security. Of course, there have long been various kinds of severance procedures available at the CNRS, and in higher education for a lesser period: they have gone unused. The departing research worker gets the sometimes justified impression that his career may suffer should he go back to the agency he left. We must therefore create incentives and compensations for mobility: one such idea would be automatic promotion in case of severance.

Instrument Panel for French Research

[Question] What are the goals of French scientific policy? On what sectors of research are you planning to concentrate scientific effort to achieve those objectives? For the past 3 or 4 years, the financial backing for R and D in the main industrial countries -- I am thinking of the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and the United States -- has resumed the upward curve halted for a time by the oil crisis. Measured in constant francs, though, French R and D spending has apparently levelled off. Do you think that the goals assigned to French scientific policy can be reached under these conditions? If hard choices have to be made, which sectors will have to suffer as a result?

[Answer] My opinion is quite clear. Our country will not be able, over the long haul, to maintain its standard and quality of living without a meaningful increase in its R and D effort, and hence of the sums earmarked for these activity. I am not arguing for a return to the growth rate we had 20 years ago. Such rates are impossible from the point of view of the nation's economy, and undesirable from the point of view of research itself. A more moderate, but steadier growth rate is preferable.

Who are to be the movers and shakers in this fresh start? The state, of course, but public and private enterprise as well. We can help them with suitable incentives; many such ideas, particularly in the tax area, are under consideration.

The object is not to make ourselves world champions in every domain, but rather not to fall short in those areas where excessive weakness would gravely hamper the development of related scientific sectors or the development of applications. That is why we must make a special effort to make up for lost time in areas such as nutrition, toxicology, and clinical pharmacology, provided we still want to put more muscle into our pharmaceutical research and into agriculture and food supplies. The situation on the research front is evolving with astonishing speed in today's world. For a medium-size country with limited resources, this situation calls for swift adaptation to changes. In order to spot the right responses in time, I have decided to set up an instrument panel for French research, which will provide a constantly updated critical evaluation, sector by sector, of our strong points and our weak ones.

[Question] Back in 1975, the government declared that there would be no new agencies created, and that the goals it had set for itself could be achieved within the structures of existing institutions and agencies. Since then, COMES has been set up for solar energy questions. Do you think that, over the next 5 or 10 years, still more agencies will have to be created? In which sectors? Should some of the existing agencies be abolished?

[Answer] The headlong proliferation of research agencies is certainly no contribution to efficiency. One of the goals set forth in the reform of the CNRS is specifically to cope with the development of new sectors falling within its area of responsibility without having to create new structures. On the other hand, are there bodies we must abolish? Some regrouping will have to be done both in the interests of effectiveness and in that of working conditions for staff. It is a hard job and one that will require prudence, but it must be done. Why should research be exempt from the imperatives that corporations, farming, and some of the liberal professions must obey?

[Question] The downstream piloting we were talking about just now indirectly raises the issue of the economic impact of research activity. On this count, sir, I should like to ask you two questions:

1. In Germany and in Japan, the growth of research has followed, rather than preceeding, economic expansion, which is often built on a foundation of imported technologies. Just how much does and will the French economy really need R and D to improve its competitive standing?

2. Some research people in the private sector fear that the growing intervention of the Industry Ministry in industrial research, to the detriment of the DGRST, will wind up channeling appropriations for aid to industrial research to appropriations for aid to industry. Do you think such fears are justified?

[Answer] Research and development is not the only factor in the growth of a company. A gift for recognizing unmet needs on the world market, organizing production, a sales organization and on-the-spot after-sales service availability on international markets are competitive factors just as potent as R and D. Even so, today more than ever, an innovative, homegrown R and D effort is an essential link in the development of French industry. Only 10 or 15 years ago, Germany and even more so Japan were pursuing a systematic policy of technology imports, which was, furthermore, designed to be a toehold for the development of home research. Was that the right policy? That question, in our day, is moot. In these times, a nation which is technologically dependent for most of its economy is a weak and vulnerable country. A country which, like France, has no raw materials and no energy must export or die. So a country which works with foreign technologies is in a poor position to sell the products it manufactures under license on the world market. It is simple to prove that assertion: French telephone companies who have long worked with foreign technologies did not even begin to make sales outside the country until they began coming out with equipment of their own.

To answer the second part of your question, I fail to see how the interest currently manifested by the Ministry for Industry in industrial research could be perceived as a threat to such research. In this area, the Delegation for Technical Innovation, just set up recently, and the Technical and Scientific Research Directorate (DGRST) have complementary roles. Pooling their efforts will stimulate the industrial research effort as a whole, far from hampering it.

If Every Nation Did As France Does

[Question] The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development will be meeting this year.

Do you believe that science and technology, as they are understood in western industrial countries today, can be simply "transferred to the countries of the South?" What role do you feel France can play, above and beyond mere support to exports of our advanced technologies?

[Answer] When we speak of the "nations of the South," we must distinguish between those on their way to industrialization and those whose development has been retarded. The former are importers of technologies from countries with older and stronger industries, most particularly French technologies. The others must cope with problems of survival or of nascent development which are altogether different in kind. Are western technologies suited to their needs? I can think of nothing less likely. New technologies, keyed to their mode of development, must be invented and supplied to those countries. The problem can be stated simply: can technical aid be added to, or completely replace the financial aid which the industrial countries have always lent to these countries? I would remind you that France is the nation that devotes more of its GNP to aiding developing countries than any other in the world. I would point out, too, that France is the nation that devotes by far the largest proportion of its research budget to areas of great interest to developing countries. I could cite medicine and agriculture, by way of example. The research we do in these two domains in view of Third-World applications is declining by comparison with many other areas. Will the United Nations Conference on Science and Development come up with anything new in this regard? I have only one remark to make on that: if all countries did what France does, there would probably be no point to this conference.

[Question] Mr Minister, do you believe that scientific and technical development will have a place some day on the list of matters that concern the government, alongside employment, inflation, regionalization, or Europe?

[Answer] Scientific and technical development has its place among the government's concerns. Where it is generally absent is among the concerns of the political parties and of public opinion.

[Question] What advice would you give a student who would like to make research his career?

[Answer] Now that's a hard question! I should tell him first that if he plans to make research his career, he must love it

with all his heart. A research man who does not feel a burning desire to do research is a poor research man and a very unhappy man as well. The difficulty for the student who thinks he would like to choose that path is that he doesn't know what research is. He must ask himself, and those around him, including his teachers, must help him to ask it honestly, this one question: is he ready to plunge into the most competitive field we have today, one just as competitive as some of the arts? If there is no sure and certain answer to that question, he should forget about it. If the answer is a firm yes, then he should go ahead, but cautiously. Let him spend a few months in a public or private laboratory; let him attend the seminars most laboratories sponsor from time to time. He won't necessarily understand everything he hears, but he will see what research work is. Then, if he still feels drawn toward it, he has some chance of being worthy to embrace the one calling in which, in order to succeed, a man must, in Alain's words, "Go after the truth with his whole soul."

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COUNTRY SECTION FRANCE

MINOS SPACELAB PROJECT DESCRIBED, DISCUSSED

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 30 Jun 79 pp 32-34

[Article by Pierre Langereux]

[Text] The French "Minos" project--a shuttle and satellite for the production of materials at very low gravity, studied by Aerospatiale [National Industrial Aerospace Company] under contract to the CNES [National Center for Space Studies]--was shown at the Bourget Exhibition Hall on 14 June 1979 during a conference of the French Association for Aeronautics and Astronautics (AAAF). At the conference the French manned mini-space shuttle project "Hermes" (cf. AIR ET COSMOS, No 771) was also presented for the first time in detail.

The forecasting study carried out from June 1978 to January 1979 had as its principal goal "to evaluate the validity of the concept of an entirely automatic spatial system intended for industrial production of materials at very low gravity or for other needs which may become apparent during the decade 1985-1995."

A Factory in Space

The Minos (industrial orbitalized modules) system is intended to produce several tons of materials annually on board an automatic factory-satellite, without astronauts being present; the raw material and the processed materials would be sent to the satellite and subsequently brought back to earth with a manned shuttle. This system will also permit mixed missions, e.g., space metallurgy and observation of the earth, always without sending men into space.

The purpose of the Minos system is thus different from that of the recoverable minishuttle Hermes, which is intended primarily to transport astronauts into space to manned stations and to bring them back to earth, with a large load. The two systems could moreover coexist, together or separately, with future "Ariane" rockets and other European space systems of the 1990's (cf. AIR ET COSMOS, No 769).

The complete orbital configuration of the Minos system weighs approximately 7.7 MT. It includes a 3.2 MT autonomous satellite made up of a service module weighing 2.2 MT and a factory pallet assembly of 1 MT (contractual mass), as well as a 4.5 MT shuttle made up of a propulsion module weighing 1.5 MT and a reentry body of 3 MT, more than 2.2 MT of which are recoverable payload.

The satellite is designed to be launched in two steps. The service module is first put into a low earth orbit by direct firing with the Ariane rocket. Then the factory pallet assembly is moored to it by means of the shuttle's propulsion module.

The reference orbit chosen for a metallurgical-type space mission is an equatorial orbit inclined by 5° and located at 800 km elevation. Such an orbit certainly has a greater handicap than a heliosynchronized orbit at higher elevation for collecting solar energy, but it facilitates shuttle operations (for more than three flights per year) and satellite stability. It may be possible to do without orbit control, and the elevation may be sufficiently high to permit stabilizing the satellite in such a way as to obtain the required very low gravity level (10^{-5} g) during the cycle of production of materials in space (less than or equal to 10 H [hours?]).

Kinetic Wheels and Unfoldable Solar Generator

The stabilization system of the satellite is designed to work without gas ejection solely with an assembly of three pairs of counterrotational kinetic wheels (0.7 to 1.7 Nm [newton meters] per wheel); desaturation will be done by stabilizing the satellite through a gravity gradient (by means of unfolded solar panels). The attitude of the satellite will be measured by terrestrial and solar sensors with a reference supplied by three gyrometric blocks; the central computer on board will control any required moves as well as readjustment of the gyrometers of the shuttle before it is cast off.

The six kinetic wheels of the satellite will also be usable for storing energy when the satellite traverses the earth's shadow (approximately one third of the orbits in eclipse). Normally the electric energy required for operation of the satellite (1 kw) and the metallurgical factory (10 kw during the length of the cycle) will be supplied by a large 25 kw unfolding solar generator made up of two 35-m-long panels (50 w/kg and 85 w/sq m).

The service module will moreover be fitted out with all the standard services to make sure the satellite operates for 7 years with 70% reliability.

The small metallurgical space factory will, for example, be made up of a furnace fitted out with its services and controls. The apparatus will be installed on a pallet-shaped structure so as to assure thermal control of the factory and the shuttle (especially for mooring) as well as storage of materials produced.

Mass Balance

SATELLITE	3.2 MT
Pallet and factory (contractual mass)	1.0 MT
Service module	2.2 MT
Solar generator	460 kg
Kinetic wheels	336 kg
Batteries	20 kg
Supply system electronic gear	70 kg
Stabilization	17 kg
Processing of information	74 kg
Telemanipulator	210 kg
Radar replier	10 kg
Structure	300 kg
Thermal control	150 kg
Wiring and miscellaneous	100 kg
Margin (25%)	453 kg
SHUTTLE	4.5 MT
Propulsion module	1.5 MT
Structure	173 kg
Equipment bin	100 kg
Diergolic propellants	508 kg
Including rocket fuel)	420 kg
Solid fuel propellant	719 kg
Including rocket fuel)	660 kg
Reentry body	3.0 MT
Including payload	2,238 kg
Structure	303 kg
Equipment reinforcement	34 kg
Thermal protection	137 kg
Shock absorber device	37 kg
Recovery device	154 kg
Mooring device	25 kg
Services equipment	16 kg
Miscellaneous and margin	56 kg
Minos system - in orbit	7.7 MT

The factory will be able to operate in an entirely automatic mode or by direct telecontrol from the earth by means of a telemanipulator integrated with the service module and including three TV cameras (one stationary and two mobile) and two triply articulated 5-m-long telemanipulator arms. The operator on the ground will thus be able to intervene to maintain the factory or to start certain manufacturing processes. The other service liaisons (telemeasurement--telecontrol--follow-up) with the Minos satellite will be done by way of a NASA "TDRSS" satellite relay.

Shuttle and Reentry Body

The shuttle can be launched into the orbit of the satellite by Ariane by means of the propulsion module. This if fitted out with a liquid diergolic rocket fuel propulsion system (N_2O_4 and Aerozine 50 or monomethylhydrazine) with 430 kg of rocket fuels (specific impulse 303 s) to feed four engines with 150 N thrust and four groups of four jets with 10 N thrust for making the orbit circular (speed increment 160 m/s), with trajectory corrections and orbit control (80 m/s), as well as for rendevous operations (20 m/s). In addition, the propulsion module has a large solid fuel (Butalane) engine of 1 m diameter with an unfolding jet-pipe which carries 660 kg of rocket fuel (isp/300 s) [specific impulse) and develops a thrust of 51.2 KN [kilo?] newtons] for removing the reentry body from orbit (speed increment 500 m/s).

The reentry body containing the payload is a space capsule 2 m in diameter fitted out with a jettisonable protective heat shield. This is an maneuverable vehicle which is simply let out into the atmosphere at approximately 100 km altitude after having been correctly set by the propulsion module at 0.5 m/s and at close to 1° in order that its ballistic reentry will bring it to the expected location: it is estimated that the precision of impact is approximately 10 km, which would permit recovering the capsule on land in French Guiana, near the launching site. A teledestruction mechanism is nevertheless provided in case reentry of the device should threaten the populace. The possibility of making the reentry occur in the Gulf of Gascony (as for French strategic ballistic missile tests) has also been considered. The fall of the device will ordinarily be braked by parachutes from 4000 m altitude on down (opening triggered by a barometric indicator and a radar-altimeter) so that the impact speed will not be more than 9 m/s; it will even be possible to annul it completely by lighting terminal retro-rockets.

A Project for 1990

Some critical points of the Minos project will require special developments, particularly the systems of telemanipulation (in proportion to the distance) and orbital rendezvous (new for Europe), as well as the "soft" mooring procedure (never as yet accomplished) in order not to disturb the satellite's stabilization. The entire reentry and recovery system will have to be proved out, and undoubtedly supplementary developments will have to be carried out as well, in order to work out the storage of kinetic energy and

the large 70-m-long solar generators, in spite of the experience already acquired in these areas by Aerospatiale.

The Minos system could thus be operational by about 1990, at the time when new versions of the European launcher (Ariane 4 or 5), far more powerful than the present rocket, are expected to be available (cf. AIR ET COSMOS, No 769). This could then lead to a different optimization of the Minos system. It would for instance no longer be necessary to launch the satellite in two parts nor to limit the mass of the shuttle or other elements of the system. This shuttle could moreover be used for rendezvous missions with other satellites, and the propulsion module (without the solid fuel rocket engine) could be the upper stage for certain missions with the future Ariane rockets.

The Minos concept is thus capable of evolution in its characteristics and performance depending on economic data relating to the cost of the system--which can be valued at several billion francs--and the importance of the benefits to be expected from the manufacture in space of materials with new or strategic properties--if indeed the experience of the next few years (with satellites, rocket-probes and "Spacelab") will allow the discovery of this "Golden Fleece."

Utilization of the Shuttle Engines

PHASES		PROPULSION	ATTITUDE CONTROL
	Ballistic		16 x 1 daN [deca newtons]
	Circularization	4 x 150 daN	4 x 150 daN + 8 x 1 daN
Ascent.....	Follow-up	4 x 150 daN	4 x 150 daN + 8 x 1 daN
	Final rendezvous phase	16 x 1 daN	16 x 1 daN
	Removal	16 x 1 daN	16 x 1 daN
	Tilting	16 x 1 daN	16 x 1 daN
Reentry....	Propulsion	4000 daN	4 x 150 daN + 9 x 1 daN
		+ Verniers 150 daN	
	Ballistic		16 x 1 daN
Orbit control		16 x 1 daN	16 x 1 daN

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CSO: 3100

COUNTRY SECTION FRANCE

DETAILS OF HERMES PROJECTED REUSABLE SPACE VEHICLE PRESENTED

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 23 Jun 79 pp 57,59

[Article by Pierre Langereux]

[Text] The French Hermes manned, recoverable space mini-shuttle project, under study for 2 years by AEROSPATIALE [National Industrial Aerospace Company] under contract with the CNES [National Center for Space Studies] was displayed at the Le Bourget Salon during a meeting of the Aeronautics and Astronautics Association of France (AAAF).

The exploratory study performed from April 1977 to December 1978, has not yet enabled all aspects of this ambitious project to be defined. It essentially involves designing a manned space vehicle of specified mass which can be launched from Kourou, in French Guiana, by the most powerful version (Ariane 5) of the European launches, available on the 1990 horizon (see AIR & COSMOS No 769). The Hermes project thus contemplates construction and perfection of a delta-wing hypersonic glider weighing a total of 10 tons at take-off (9.4 tons at injection [into orbit] and 8 tons on landing). This 12.55-meter long mini-shuttle will have a pressurized compartment 6.3 meters long (15 cubic meters) enabling 5 astronauts (in space suits) to be carried into low terrestrial orbit, or only 2 astronauts plus 1.5 tons of payload. It will therefore be a shuttle much smaller than the NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Administration] shuttle, but one and a half times the size of a Soviet Soyuz vehicle. The Hermes shuttle is intended for missions of observation in circular orbit at 200 kilometers altitude inclined 60 degrees (with appropriate observation instruments) or for rendezvous with an orbiting station traveling at 400 kilometers in an orbit inclined 30 degrees (with 2 astronauts plus 1.5 tons of cargo going and 5 passengers returning), or, further, for rendezvous with a 9.5-ton inert module previously launched by an Ariane 5 into circular orbit at 200 kilometers altitude inclined 30 degrees, such module being then transferred by the Hermes to an orbiting station. The maximum duration of an orbiting flight with the Hermes glider will be 7 days.

The French study has been deliberately patterned upon the American Space Shuttle project now under construction rather than upon defining a new concept of more optimized space vehicle, which explains the striking resemblance of the Hermes to the NASA Shuttle, with all proportions the same. Certain technologies and specifications have also been borrowed from the Shuttle for definition of the French project.

The Hermes is to be a fully reusable space shuttle (like the Orbiter of the Shuttle) but the number of flights remains to be defined. The hypersonic glider will therefore be given a thermal protective covering of radiating type, of carbon with carbonized binder composite for the hottest zones (more than 1,500 degrees C on the nose and 1,250 degrees C on the underside of the fuselage) and of silica based composite for other portions of the covering where the temperatures will be between 400 degrees C and 1,000 degrees C (upper surfaces of the wings, and so forth). The thickness of the thermal protective covering thus will vary from 10 to 60 millimeters in order to maintain the structure (aluminum alloy) at temperatures below 175 degrees C despite the high thermal flux when reentering the atmosphere. This thermal protective covering, with total weight of 560 kilograms, will be very similar to that of the Shuttle but will require a great technological development effort in France.

The reentry conditions for the Hermes are practically the same as those for the Shuttle (same aerodynamic coefficients). Thus, for a reentry under 30 degree incident angle, corresponding to thermal flux of 500 kilowatts per square meter on the glider and load factor of 1.5 to 1.9 g for the crew, the longitudinal range of the vehicle will be 9.400 kilometers and its lateral transfer capability 2,000 kilometers (like the Shuttle).

The glider's flight will be completely automated, with surveillance by the ground control center and the crew, which can intervene in some operations, although the complexity of piloting and guidance of such a vehicle practically precludes manual piloting in view of the number of parameters to be taken into account and the necessary rapidity of the interventions in most of the flight phases. However, if only for psychological reasons, it is not without utility to be able to integrate man into the operation of the vehicle.

The glider will therefore be equipped with very extensive avionics enabling the mission to be controlled with the full measure of safety which the presence of a human crew requires (98 percent chance of successful injection into orbit). The Hermes avionics will include a central computer connected by two buses and an interface unit to the various sensors and control devices. Piloting during transfer will mainly utilize a "strap down" inertial platform which, during orbital flight, will be recalibrated in accordance with the data from the optical sensors. The rendezvous in orbit and docking with another satellite phase will be effected by means of an approach radar and television circuit. Reentry into the atmosphere will be controlled by means of an

aerodynamics central station and a radio-altimeter, the glider, in addition, having available Omega and MLS receivers for the final phase of traversing the atmosphere (in gliding flight) and landing on a runway (like an airplane) at Kourou.

A safety device is planned at launching and during the propelled phase of the two-stage Ariane 5 rocket. It comprises a large solid fuel motor of 2.1 tons, attached underneath the glider's fuselage and jettisoned during operation of the rocket's first stage. In case of accident it will deliver a thrust of 800 kilonewtons for 5 seconds to extricate the glider from the rocket. Parachutes are also housed in the glider for braking its descent in the event of return over the sea. The whole of these safety facilities represents a penalty of 610 kilograms in the vehicle's payload.

The orbital maneuvers, altitude control during cruising flight and reentry and exit from orbit of the hypersonic glider are effected by storable liquid fuel (hydrazine and nitrogen tetroxide) motors. The ensemble weighs 1,562 kilograms, including 1,340 kilograms of fuel. The motors are arranged in two groups, the forward one with 12 motors of 400 newtons thrust and 100 kilograms of fuel, and the other, aft, with one main motor of 20 kilonewtons thrust and 16 motors of 400 newtons thrust, with total available fuel of 1,240 kilograms.

On-board electrical energy will be provided by hydrogen-oxygen combustion piles operating at 70 degrees C under pressure of 1 bar. These piles will be supplied with 9 kilograms of hydrogen and 75 kilograms of oxygen to provide the 240 kilowatt-hours necessary for the mission. Fuel consumption is estimated at 0.35 kilogram per kilowatt-hour and thermal dissipation at 0.64 thermal kilowatt-hour per electrical kilowatt-hour.

Thermal control will be effected by three flexible radiators consisting of sheets of Teflon, with radiating covering, and with circulating freon. An environmental control system will enable the atmosphere of oxygen and nitrogen of the pressurized compartment (under pressure of 1 bar) to be regenerated, potable water to be supplied to the crew, waste to be eliminated, and will provide for feeding and hygiene of the astronauts.

Realization of the Hermes project may be spread over 10 years, including 2 years for feasibility studies, 7 years for development and 1 year for orbital flight tests. Final development will be effected with two mockups for electrical and mechanical tests and two prototypes for dynamic and vibration tests. The first prototype will thereafter be converted for atmospheric flight tests (with a carrier aircraft) and safety tests (an innovation with respect to the Shuttle), while the second prototype will be reconditioned for the four orbital flight tests. Construction of a flight model is also contemplated in the development plan.

BRIEFS

MARCHAIS' MEDICAL TREATMENT--/PCF leader/ Georges Marchais is undergoing medical treatment; that is what the French communists told /PCI leader/ Enrico Berlinguer who was irritated by Marchais' absence from the first session of the European Assembly. Marchais is being treated in Yugoslavia where he has been staying since his official meeting with Tito in early July. /Text/ /Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 23 Jul 79 p 12/

DEFENSE CREDITS INCREASED--Credits available to the military are to be increased to 80 billion [francs] in the 1980 budget, a rise of 8 percent, by decision of [President] Giscard, [prime Minister] Barre and [Minister of Defense] Bourges. [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 27 Jul 79 p 68]

M-4 MISSILE HEADS--The "heads" are hitting their targets. That is the conclusion drawn from the second test firing of the multiple nuclear warheads of the M-4 missiles to be used in the 1985 strategic nuclear submarines. Technicians on the laboratory ship "Henri Poincare" observed the fall of the various charges on an imaginary target near the Azores. The results were very satisfying. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 23 Jul 79 p 12 WA]

CSO: 3100

SURVEY OF PETROLEUM IMPORTS, CONSUMPTION, PRICING POLICY

Milan PANORAMA in Italian 19 Jun 79 pp 184-187

[Interview with Industry Ministry Director General for Energy Resources Giuseppe Ammassari by Tino Oldani: "This Is How We Will Pay"]

[Text] The time for lies and election-campaign calculations is over. The moment of truth concerning petroleum and energy problems has also arrived for Italy. What will the government decide to do? Will it continue to defend the plan proposed by Industry Minister Franco Nicolazzi, or, as many expect, will the price of gasoline and diesel oil increase immediately? What other measures are being studied? PANORAMA put these questions to Giuseppe Ammassari, director general for energy resources of the Industry Ministry.

Question: Professor Ammassari, at the end of December petroleum cost $12.70 per barrel, while today some supplies of crude are being sold on the world market for as much as $37 per barrel, that is, triple the price of 6 months ago. In the meantime, because of the elections, Italy has not changed petroleum prices. What happens now?

Answer: To understand what will happen in Italy we must first glance at the foreign market. On the world market there was not merely a very strong increase in petroleum prices; there also were unexplainable decisions which are producing disastrous effects. I refer to the decision of American President Jimmy Carter to concede a premium of $5 per barrel, equal to 30,000 lire per ton, for purchases of heavy diesel fuel on the international market. This incredible decision, together with recent authorizations given by the American Government to U.S. companies to freely purchase supplies on all markets, including the speculative Rotterdam market, is entirely erroneous and contradictory, because it feeds the price spiral and causes hoarding.

Question: In short, national egoism is being unleashed. The United States has gained the upper hand. Isn't that so?

Answer: Yes, that is true. What makes us angry is that the United States until a short time ago made fancy speeches about concerted action. The IEA, the International Energy Agency, which was established by American initiative, is completely negative on this point. We are faced with the failure of that institution, which was created to achieve solidarity on petroleum matters among consuming nations.

Question: Ted Kennedy has accused Carter of playing the game of the big companies.

Answer: Certainly, Carter has the problem of the 1980 presidential election. But this is not a good reason to hoard petroleum.

Question: But is there any economic plan behind this policy?

Answer: In my view, a cool and lucid mind has calculated that the United States, by raising the average price of crude to $25 per barrel within a few months, can achieve three objectives. The first: shale and oil-bearing sand, which are widespread throughout North and Central America, will become economic and competitive with petroleum deposits. The second: in addition to achieving a better trade balance, since the United States will be able to import less petroleum, it can increase availability by buying crude from neighboring nations, Canada and the Central American nations. But the most ambitious political objective is the third.

Question: What is that?

Answer: The Middle East is now a politically destabilized area, and the United States therefore has decided that it is necessary to reduce the risk for the entire Western world of depending almost exclusively on that area to supply petroleum.

Question: Will supplies for our country be guaranteed?

Answer: Full supplies are not guaranteed at all. Here are the figures. In the first 6 months of this year we received 46 million tons of crude and consumed 51 million tons. In the second 6 months we will receive 45.5 million tons of petroleum and will consume 53 million. In the first 6 months, in order to make up the shortfall, we turned to reserves, which were large. In the second 6 months this will no longer be possible, and we will have a shortfall of 8 million tons of petroleum. We refuse for the moment to even mention the possibility of tapping strategic reserves.

Question: And then?

Answer: We made a careful analysis of products sold on the market, and we have noted that the greatest shortfall is in heating oil and diesel

for self-propelled vehicles and fuel oil for ENEL [National Electric Power Agency] and industries. Gasoline is not a problem. We receive very light crudes, and they produce much gasoline through the refining process.

Question: What is the total shortfall of diesel oil for the second 6 months?

Answer: About 4 million tons, that is, one-sixth of total consumption estimated at 24 million tons.

Question: But then, many industries will be forced to close down, a power blackout is insured, and unemployment will increase...

Answer: Not if the companies maintain a responsible attitude.

Question: But the private companies are extremely angry, particularly with you, after you took steps to nationalize 35 percent of petroleum products processed for foreign buyers.

Answer: Yes, I know. They even asked for damages totaling $4 million. I answered that my salary is 830,000 lire per month. If they withhold one-fifth of that for 2,000 years, they may be able to get their money back. Assuming that it was I who erred.

Question: Did the companies err?

Answer: Some businessmen did not respect the Italian supply programs specified and agreed upon with us, and this aside from the consequences of what happened in Iran. They preferred to reroute supplies elsewhere. I warn them, this road could be dangerous.

Question: But how do you propose to convince private companies to bring into Italy an additional 4 million tons of diesel oil when they can double their earnings by selling through their foreign affiliates?

Answer: There is only one way: to free the price of all diesel oil. And that is what we will do. Obviously we will prevent prices from getting out of hand if they should move into the Rotterdam speculative market. Consider that a free price would be the meeting point between the price of petroleum purchased through long-term contracts (equal to five-sixths of Italian petroleum) and that of petroleum purchased on the free market (one-sixth of the total).

Question: The PCI [Italian Communist Party], through L'UNITA, said it opposed this measure.

Answer: Very well, that means that we will have to ration diesel fuel for everyone. There is no other solution.

Question: And what about gasoline?

Answer: If consumption remains at 10 percent below consumption of last year--as is possible--the availability of company supplies will be sufficient to meet the need. Otherwise, if there is no decrease in consumption and if OPEC decides on new price rises at the 26 June meeting, then the CIP [Interministerial Price Committee] method of calculating the price of gasoline will be used, as has always happened in the past. And I don't foresee big problems over gasoline this summer.

Question: Do you think it is possible to implement the proposal made by Nino Andreatta and Ferrante Pierantoni to link the price of gasoline to the cost-of-living index?

Answer: It is necessary to act so that wisdom is expressed not so much through ideas as through behavior. In fact, I have the impression that many "experts" lack the most elementary information: gasoline has been discussed in Italy for 3 months, but none of the many "experts" who engage in polemics with the Industry Ministry has realized that the real problem is diesel oil. Will they ever learn that without diesel oil all of Italy, from industry to ENEL, will risk coming to a halt?

Question: What will happen to the old Nicolazzi plan? Will you scrap it?

Answer: Not at all. The CIPE [Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning] will examine it within a few days; the text has been broadened, and there will be innovations, above all to save electrical energy. For next winter we foresee a shortfall of 1,200 megawatts, and we must make up for this.

Question: What do you expect to happen?

Answer: Nothing. It is a top secret plan.

Question: A final item. Are you an optimist or a pessimist? For the time being, the pessimists are prevailing. German Chancellor Schmidt has spoken of the dangers of "war over petroleum," and Gianni Agnelli has evoked the specter of a "hundred years war."

Answer: I merely wish to recall that Agnelli, at the Sondrio conference, said much more terrible things.

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CSO: 3104

COUNTRY SECTION SPAIN

EIA HOLDS CONGRESS, SECRETARY GENERAL INTERVIEWED

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 8 Jul 79 p 25

[Interview with Mario Onaindia, secretary general of the EIA, in Vitoria, by CAMBIO 16: "Peace Will Come With the Statue"; date not given]

[Text] The Guernica Statute is a priority for the Basque Revolutionary Party (EIA), according to Mario Onaindia, who received a death sentence at the Burgos trial and who was re-elected secretary general of this party during its first legal congress.

The entire national press received the news: "The EIA (Party for the Basque Revolution) announces its possible return to armed struggle." The announcement was published days before 500 delegates of this party, representatives from the 3 Basque provinces and Navarre, were to be closeted for 4 days in the assembly hall of the University of Lejona in order to celebrate their first legal congress, 14-17 June.

Twenty-four hours after the closing of the congress Mario Onaindia, one of those who received the death sentence in the 1969 Burgos trial, re-elected secretary general of the EIA, explained to CAMBIO 16 in Vitoria what the political strategy of this nationalist party is, of which the Guernica Statute is a priority objective.

CAMBIO 16: What does the Guernica Statute offer the EIA?

Mario Onaindia: For us and for all democratic forces that believe that a series of problems can be solved through democracy, the Guernica Statute is a positive thing; precisely, it contains all of the demands that were attempted at the time of the democratic break, like: the dissolution of repressive organs, true autonomy, the fiscal question, and the matter of Navarre.

For the EIA, the only progress toward socialism is along this line. The statute is vital. In view of the defensive posture that the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] and the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] in particular adopted after the referendum, the text that was approved is acceptable and more than acceptable. It is vital for us to obtain the statute as it is and we are going to risk all in one undertaking, with mobilizations and popular support.

C 16: If the statute is trimmed, what would your position be?

M.O.: There could be changes in commas or terminology, but no trimming whatsoever of the substance. We believe that mobilization of the masses is necessary to prevent any party from negotiating unilaterally with the government. It is a question of forming a bloc, and if it should be necessary to take any action on the contents, all Euskadi parties should do it together.

This statute is very coherent. If anything is taken from it, it will be destroyed. The point is that in Madrid they must realize this and decide if this is to be converted into a sort of colonial war or, on the contrary, if Euskadi is to be converted into the most democratically advanced of the Spanish states.

C 16: Could this be the last opportunity for the pacification of the Basque country?

M.O.: I am absolutely convinced that the statute can represent the pacification of Euskadi. Here the parties can represent the pacification of Euskadi. Here the parties can lose much credibility if this statute does not materialize and the nature of violence changes--violence that today for the most part is against the state machine.

Armed Struggle

C 16: An EIA report prior to the congress announced the possible return to armed struggle...

M.O.: In principle there is no such stand. Perhaps it is necessary to clarify that the process of the emergence of the EIA is irreversible. The EIA will continue to exist and is not going to return again to ETA (pm) [Basque Fatherland Liberty Group, political-military]. Many things will be restated in the statute and our policy regarding armed struggle will change.

We are only trying to determine if EIA will support ETA (pm) or will establish a new armed organization if the statute regarding autonomy is essentially trimmed.. It is evident that in that case we will have to implement a complete strategic change.

C 16: Is there EIA political-military support for ETA at present?

M.O.: At this moment ETA (pm) is functioning organizationally with absolute independence. There is only one common ideological line concerning how the revolutionary process must be carried out. For us, in this phase, in this political process, the party is more important than any armed group, because class struggle has priority over armed struggle.

C 16: What does EIA think of the "political-military" group threat against the public officials of Euskadi?

M.O.: As I say, the statute is vital and for our part we are going to utilize all means to obtain it. That threat surprised me. It is necessary to show Madrid, and not only the UCD [Democratic Center Union] but all the centralist parties, the factitive forces, and the king that here there are only two ways out: one, the democratization of the country, which can be the spearhead, a bastion of democracy for the rest of the state or, on the contrary, a degeneration into a process similar to that of Algeria, with all kinds of controversies and the added danger that some of the Basque forces may become oriented toward a type of fascism that bodes ill for all of Spain. We are ready to do everything possible to avoid this.

C 16: Some ministers say that the statute contains anti-constitutional articles...

M.O.: Some are ambiguous and some are in conflict with the constitution. However, one must take into consideration that in Euskadi the citizens or the political forces that approved the constitution do not represent the majority of the people.

In Madrid many politicians, including the majority of the press, have been making propaganda that is very unfavorable to all of the Basque forces that are seeking a democratic solution. Nevertheless, and we must acknowledge it, they have changed their opinion and have done so honorably.

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CSO: 3110

COUNTRY SECTION SPAIN

BASQUE LABOR UNION HOLDS CONGRESS, APPROVES POLICY

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 8 Jul 79 p 37

[Article: "ELA-STV [Solidarity of Basque Workers] with respect to the UCD [Democratic Center Union] labor policy"]

[Text] Echevarria: "No to the Government."

The ELA-STV, the key labor union in the Basque country, with about 100,000 affiliates and more than 50 independent ones, celebrated its Fourth Congress. Alfonso Echeverria, re-elected secretary general, manifested his opposition to the labor legislation proposed by the government.

The Fourth Congress of the Solidarity of Basque Workers (ELA-STV) labor union that was held this past weekend in Vitoria once more gave evidence of the implantation and perfect organization of the present main Euskadi (Basque) labor union.

Friday morning, 22 June, some 700 delegates from the four Basque provinces met in a movie house in Vitoria in order to discuss the four positions elaborated by the executive committee that hours later was re-elected.

Alfonso Echeverria, also re-elected secretary general of ELA-STV, is today considered to be one of the key men in the Basque situation. With great labor union experience that began when he was 14 years of age, Echeverria analyzed the future of Basque labor with preoccupation.

In a small room of the Iradier movie house of Vitoria, during an intermission in the Fourth Congress, he talked with CAMBIO 16: "The shortsightedness of enterprises has led us to the point that Euskadi right now is the country that has the greatest loss of work hours in a work year in all of Europe. While in 1977 1,300 days were lost in Spain, this year the Basque provinces will exceed that figure, by going up to 2,000."

Alfonso Echeverria, visibly tired from two exhaustive days at the Congress, smokes continuously. Between condemnations he categorically stated that he has nothing to do with the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party], that his removal has been definitive in these recent years, and that most of the affiliates of the "solidarities" do not militate in any political party.

With obvious skepticism concerning the parties and the government of Madrid, the re-elected secretary general commented that the Moncloa Pacts have not helped the labor unions: "There has been a supplanting of the parties in these pacts, which have defocalized the main point, relegating the labor unions merely to the role of observers."

With regard to labor relations, Echeverria stated that his labor union will not accept the labor union legislation proposed by the government. "Awareness of the UCD's [Democratic Center Union] and the Communist Party's denial of the capability of labor unions to negotiate with enterprises through collective bargaining indicates the struggle that we must carry on in order to strengthen trade unionism. The Worker's Statute and, independently, a labor union law, a collective bargaining law, and a law with respect to strikes, must be established."

"The measures elaborated by Madrid," he added, "will also encourage the atomization of labor unions, with the danger of creating "yellow" and corporate labor unions. Certain coalitions that will obstruct labor relations, create confusion, and divide the working class should not be allowed."

Alfonson Echeverria, completely convinced of the viability of a Basque trade unionism, stated that in this moment of crisis it is difficult to advance a definitive strategy, and said: "There must be objective conditions: first, that labor unions have their own existence in Euskadi; second, that there be a valid enterprise interlocutor, valid for the Basque country; and third, there must be an autonomous government.

A vigorous and strong defender of interprovincial agreements, Echeverria stated that a provincial agreement must be sought and negotiated within an Euskadi framework. With respect to unemployment, only an equitable distribution of available work, with a reduction in work time to 35 hours or a 10 percent reduction in production can overcome the crisis. "This problem will not be resolved only by fighting inflation."

A Historical Labor Union

Founded in 1911, the historical Basque labor union centered its congressional work on the need of obtaining a labor relations framework for Euskadi, itself. Both the setting forth of the strategic objectives and that of organization and formation were approved almost unanimously, together with an amendment that urged the inclusion of Navarre within the Basque labor union framework.

At the opening of the congress the delegates received the words of its old president, Manuel Robles Aranguiz, with a big ovation. The 82-year old labor leader said: "We are here to establish the bases of labor relations in Euskadi, but also to correct unjust structures in our country."

During the first day, the congress approved a change in statutes that had to do with incompatibilities between political and labor union responsibilities. This measure, according to one of the leaders of the Basque labor union, concerned the necessity of avoiding any kind of political infiltration of the Basque organization: "The labor union must not support parties or pay for the ideas and the analyses of society made by the parties," said Alfonso Echeverria, the secretary general.

The delegates to the congress affirmed the need of a framework for labor relations within the Basque country, though they concluded that it would not be possible while Basque enterprises revolved around the CEOE [expansion unknown] and the state labor unions did not have an opportunity to make decisions in the Basque provinces.

Before the closing session, the delegates of the Basque labor union approved a resolution to support the Guernica Statute and asked for the paralyzation of Lemoniz: "May the future of labor for all workers concerned be protected."

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CSOP 3110

COUNTRY SECTION SPAIN

BRIEFS

INCREASE IN BUDGET DEFICIT--According to a confidential report by one of the seven large banks, the increase of the budget deficit threatens to reach 500,000 million [pesetas] in 1979. The report notes that this disproportionate increase began with the policies of Fernandez Ordonez, who, until three months ago, was finance minister. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Jul 79 p 5]

PREPARATION FOR PSOE CONGRESS--The elaboration of a political position paper to be presented at the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] congress by socialists belonging to Tierno Galvan's former PSP [Popular Socialist Party] has had unique participants such as Antonio Gomez Rufo--formerly connected with extreme-right university groups--and Enrique Tierno--the son of the "old professor." The latter is said to have had a very important say in the elaboration of said document. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Jul 79 p 5]

JUMBOS FOR IBERIA--The airline company Iberia will acquire three Boeing 747 (Jumbo) aircraft next year. With this purchase the airline will have a total of six, one of which is to be sold to Aviaco. During the last few weeks the INI [National Industrial Institute] controlled airline has received a total of five Boeing 727's, raising the number of these aircraft to 37 within the fleet. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Jul 79 p 5]

MPAIAC TO BECOME ACTIVE--The atmosphere that is favorable to the nationalists, manifested in the success of the People's Union of the Canary Islands in the most recent municipal elections, could become useful to the MPAIAC [Sovereignty and Independence Movement of the Canary Islands] and other independent groups in unleashing a terrorist offensive in the next three months, according to information obtained by the Police Investigation Service. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 8 Jul 79 p 5] 8255

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